

JPRS 78430

1 July 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1884

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

1 July 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1894

CONTENTS

HUNGARY

- Sociologist Analyzes Role of Current Social Welfare Policy
(Kalman Kulcsar; FIGYELO, 15 Apr 81)..... 1

POLAND

- Military Schools, Study Programs Discussed
(Various sources, various dates)..... 7
- Various Types of Schools, by Andrzej Ciechanowski
Warsaw University Program, by Bazyl Lewczuk
Military Aviation Schools
New System for Military Students

ROMANIA

- Briefs
Reports of Unemployment..... 21

YUGOSLAVIA

- Chronology of Events in Kosovo, 23 April-21 May
(Shefki Uka; VJESNIK, 6 Jun 81)..... 22
- Statement of Yugoslav Catholic Bishops
(GLAS KJNCILA, 17 May 81)..... 25
- Yugoslav Catholic Bishops' Conference Discussed
(Nenad Ivankovic; VJESNIK, 23 May 81)..... 27

Catholic Press Discusses Freedom of Religion (GLAS KONCILA, 3 May 81).....	31
Catholic Theological Group Opens Critical Forum (Stipe Bagaric Interview; VJESNIK, 16 May 81).....	33
New Film, Problems of Macedonian Film Industry Viewed (Stole Popov Interview; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 6 May 81).....	38
Macedonian Film Industry Criticized (Olja Arbuljevska; BORBA, 25 May 81).....	41
Data on Serbian LC Membership (KOMUNIST, 29 May 81).....	43

SOCIOLOGIST ANALYZES ROLE OF CURRENT SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 15 Apr 81 p 5

[Article by Kalman Kulcsar, editor of SZOCIOLOGIA and director of the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Science: "Social Welfare Policy in Today's Society"]

[Text] Of what use is social policy? Do the "awards" "come" automatically in certain situations? Do those "favored" (I deliberately do not say those "in need") receive the aid, supplements or awards as gifts? Does all this involve some sort of social interest going beyond the element of solidarity, aid or charity or do we perhaps intend to "prove" with such measures that we are building a different sort of society? Do our social policy measures aid or limit the so-needed efficiency of the economy? Finally, what and how much can the state undertake, how far can the burdens of the budget be increased? And we could extend the list of questions which are much debated by many these days, immediately adding, however, that we could hardly answer these questions here.

A Theoretical Clarification

The increasing number of questions indicate that social policy in practice thus far (from which these questions actually derive) is prompting debate and further thought, and that finally there is a need for decisions.

Research to prepare for decisions has begun, the ultimate goal of which is the development of a uniform social policy concept. The research itself requires debate. But the basis of the debate lies deeper. Our society has reached a stage of development where the peculiarities of further progress—including foreign, primarily economic and political relationships—require very deliberate, well-thought out decisions. The economic and social processes initiated by the decisions of today will have not only momentary or short-range consequences but will have long lasting effects which one will have to reckon with later, which will mean new conditions for the development of our society. (One can experience at this time also how the earlier decisions had consequences which cannot be reversed, at least at our present level of development, or which can be changed only with great difficulty.)

Perhaps the most important basic principle to start from—which is certainly not new but which must always be remembered—is that the social, economic and welfare policy constitute a unity and in actuality none of them can be developed

rationally without regard to the others. This interdependence also means that in a certain sense and to a certain degree--depending on the given social-economic situation--all three supplement each other, or at least can serve such a remedial function.

Theoretically social policy should be the one which defines the goals for the formation and development of society. This would mean developing such a system of goals the achievement of which would influence economic policy and the practical problems arising from these two policies relative to one another and which could be solved with the tools of social policy. But this model is an excessive simplification. In the first place because the relationship of goals and tools is not so simple even in a much less complex relationship and secondly because the consequences of real historical-social situations do not follow this model. For example, there may be periods when economic policy requirements "predominate" even to the temporary detriment of social policy goals and there may be periods in which the social policy goals are blurred [because they are not precisely formulated or in which the change in their content is not clearly expressed in the interest of preserving some sort of continuity at any price; and it also happens that social welfare policy virtually takes the place of the social policy and undertakes to realize the social policy goals with tools which are not suitable for the task.

The Unskilled Workers

This theoretical separation may seem excessively abstract, alien to life, an example of pure theorizing which cannot be practically utilized. But this separation can be made "life-like" forthwith. An example might be provided by the unskilled workers who make up a significant proportion of the so-called multiply disadvantaged "stratum." They are in a disadvantageous situation in regard to neighborhood and housing conditions, the kind of work and the education and cultural needs associated with this, in their lifestyle, family size and, in this connection, to the amount of income per capita. According to studies this "stratum" reproduces itself in a way which cannot be ignored--if in a reduced proportion, since the number of unskilled workers is constantly decreasing. That is, there is a good chance that their children will remain in this stratum. We might add that this stratum demonstrates deviant behavior in a manner exceeding its numerical proportion (primarily by committing crimes and in the form of alcoholism) and again to a degree exceeding its numerical proportion one can find the children belonging to this stratum among the wards of the state.

But the circumstances of this "stratum," of the "group" of those in a multiply disadvantaged situation, can be influenced to only a certain degree by social policy measures. The effectiveness of benefits or aid linked to the number of children or other factors is limited and is hardly suitable for even reducing to a significant degree this perpetuation. There can be no doubt that the lasting existence of such a multiply disadvantaged "stratum" is not compatible with the goals of our society (we are not speaking now of those in a multiply disadvantaged situation as a result of other interdependencies). Moreover, the existence of such a "stratum" can also hold back development in a number of ways.

Thus the treatment and solution of these problems is the task of social policy which, however, is obviously possible only within certain economic limits. It is in vain to see that the elimination of this stratum (and thus the reduction of the undesirable phenomena) would mean the elimination of jobs requiring hard physical work and "attracting" an unskilled labor force; this would require an investment of such size and a development and transformation of technological processes of such magnitude as are impossible under present conditions (or those of the near future). Economic policy considerations, or more precisely limitations operating in the economy itself, which to a certain degree restrain economic policy decisions, circumscribe the possibilities of the social policy to such a degree in this case that a real solution of the problem is impossible in the short run.

Circumstances Not Related to Employment

The social integration of the Gypsy population is also a social policy problem. In addition to using other means (cultural, school, health, etc)--which also require material means--the considerations of social policy in this case argue for maintaining at least for a time and to a certain degree jobs which require an unskilled labor force. Regular employment is a fundamental condition for integrating the Gypsy population but the overwhelming majority of the Gypsy population at this time--despite the efforts--is not in a situation where skilled or semiskilled employment would be a realistic goal for most of them. Thus, a significant number of them can be placed only as unskilled workers. In some places this in itself can hinder technical development, because to a certain extent one must "guarantee" employment capable of absorbing such a labor force.

The problem is very complex--it is far from possible to touch on every aspect here. But one thing is clear, whether the unskilled workers or the Gypsy population be regarded as the basic phenomenon, it cannot be handled adequately with the goals of social policy at this time. It follows from this that social welfare policy is forced to intervene to a certain extent. It can hardly take over or even supplement the task or tools of social policy but it is forced to make up for certain deficiencies with its own means. Its remedial tasks, in fact, its corrective function is significant. I should note that the effect of decisions made in the cases cited or in other spheres of social policy can be dysfunctional as a result of the uniqueness of the "receiving" medium. In the case of population growth policy, for example, it is well known that the low paid labor force, the untrained or those with minimal training, are the ones who have made the most use of the childcare allowances because the difference between wages and the allowance amount was smallest here. Thus the number of births increased precisely in the multiply disadvantaged stratum. With the increase in the number of children, welfare policy tasks also became more difficult.

This "interplay" between social policy, economic policy and social welfare policy is a special justification for the theoretical position that in the present historical-social circumstances social welfare policy can attempt to improve disadvantageous conditions which are not related to employment, and thereby reduce the disadvantages which arise.

The Need for Self-Delineation

The use of the expression "the present historical-social circumstance" is already an indication that the concept of social welfare policy can change historically and is naturally also dependent on the character of the basic social-economic structure. Many factors play a role in a disadvantageous situation which are unrelated to employment and the accumulation of disadvantages can have especially serious consequences. The multiple layers of social welfare policy tasks are also related to this.

At the present developmental level of our society it is impossible to solve all social welfare policy tasks at the same time, making use of uniform expenditures. So there must be a selection among tasks. But this helps only up to a certain point; in our day and with our present material possibilities the opportunities of social welfare policy depend perhaps in large measure on the social policy preference system and on the self-delineation of social policy.

This may sound strange, especially when we so frequently and justly emphasize the productive capacity of the economy or the necessity of increasing this capacity. But that is how it is. In the first place, increasing the capacity of the economy--and many have already pointed out that this requires further discussion--depends not only on investment, the changes in the economic structure and the flexibility of the economy but also on noneconomic developments. Thus, in this sense, economic development is not simply an economic question. In the second place, the capacity of the economy necessarily prompts social policy to exercise self-delineation. This self-delineation can be seen in the extent of the achieved goals and tasks set forth (in plain language, giving something to every sphere, even if not much) and in the weighting of goals and tasks.

Underdeveloped or less developed countries are almost universally characterized by the multiplicity of goals, ambitious undertakings, the fulfilment of which remains in part at the level of legislation--that is, regulations are passed which are really treated as "modest desires" instead of effective measures requiring economic effort--and in part the tasks are ranked on the basis of special points of view (very frequently elite viewpoints, which may in some cases be well-thought out bonuses too).

At the present developmental level of our society, when society is growing into the period of an intensive economy and when the needs of this transition also influence the development of social policy tasks, or more precisely when there is need to evaluate such interdependencies, self-delineation of social policy is especially important. Several forms of self-delineation are possible. It is probable that the road to be followed is to examine the free nature or price of the various services, limiting the tasks undertaken, weighting the tasks, grouping and regrouping forces and rethinking the consequences of the possible problems.

An Example: Outstanding Sport

Of course it is not possible here nor can this article undertake to even outline the path or methods for the self-delineation of social policy because this should not be done on the basis of sudden inspirations or improvisation. Just as an example, let us note that for decades the sport movement has increasingly taken the form of so-called outstanding sport; we are training competitors who occupy a privileged position and will have very brief careers with the greatest possible material, intellectual and organizational expenditures. This phenomenon appears at various levels; not only at the national level but also at the megye level and even in smaller towns or in enterprises there are great expenditures to develop so-called outstanding sport, serving largely prestige goals. The investments for outstanding sport or competition sports are generally unavailable for the mass sports which develop a healthy way of life. The status of so-called sport colleagues or the earlier "pseudo-jobs" and special allowances cause such a value distortion which is even socially problematic. Countries much more developed economically than Hungary do not permit themselves this luxury but here it is sometimes interpreted as an achievement of socialism that this type of competition sport (let me again emphasize, not mass sports!) develop at state or enterprise [expense] but in any case public expense. In this case, the self-delineation of social policy means not just careful consideration of where monetary means should be allocated for a healthy development of social values but in fact, would also, be desirable for competitive sports. (Let me only note that the sport movement has both a national centralized authority and a megye organization, etc, the like of which for example is not available for welfare policy.)

The self-delineation of social policy, that is a selection among tasks which could be undertaken, is also important to increase the effectiveness of social welfare policy because the mitigation of social welfare policy problems arising from the more difficult economic situation in a certain sense could also be a factor in decreasing political tension. Neither the problems of social policy nor the problems of economic policy can be solved with the tools of social welfare policy but since each of them includes social welfare policy aspects the possibilities for social welfare policy remedies cannot be ignored from the viewpoint of politics as a whole.

It is Not Only a Question of Money

The problem of an effective social welfare policy, which is socially and politically necessary (I will not speak here of the viewpoint of economic efficiency because this problem was touched on by FIGYELO earlier), is not--to put it simply--just a question of money. The present frittering away of funds and duplication of coverage, the resultant lack of organization and, of course, the less than effective use of available funds and, primarily, a concentrated use of funds within social welfare policy (because not only the social policy but also social welfare policy has need for self-delineation) demand a uniform organizational system also.

It cannot be emphasized enough that social welfare policy is a state responsibility. It is a state responsibility even if one can accept social welfare policy at a factory or local level or even, in certain cases, social activity. But all

of this becomes or can become more effective only if we build up a suitable organizational, administrative network under unified management. At present various ministries deal with the various tasks of social welfare policy, with the cooperation of the National Council of Trade Unions, social organizations, etc. It is not only administration which is problematical; the pertinent regulations are also so scattered that overview is impossible and organization is not efficient. Actually the sphere of those requiring social welfare policy activities has not been assessed adequately; every ministry or organization is informed about measures in their own sphere of authority thus base for the necessary coordination is also lacking.

It appears, however, that we are making the same mistake to which we referred elsewhere and took aim at here at the beginning of the article. That is, lacking the necessary financial means we have frequently used and still use legal regulations, versions of organizational solutions, almost as a substitute, expecting there from a solution to the problem, or at least a more effective handling of it--and now we are proposing the same sort of thing. (In the [history] Hungarian social welfare policy development we can also find examples of organizational-administrative positions coming to the fore as substitute tools. Let us only consider the peculiarities in executing Law XIII, 1940, concerning the National Foundation for the People and Family). But with an appropriate regrouping of resources, with the development of a uniform social policy concept (including an examination of factors influencing the effectiveness of social policy regulations) and with the development of a centrally directed organizational system suitable to serve this conception we believe that even in the present difficult economic situation it will be possible to have a more effective social welfare policy which will help reduce social tensions (or prevent their emergence).

8984

CSO: 2500/226

MILITARY SCHOOLS, STUDY PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

Various Types of Schools

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 9, Sep 80 pp 27-30

[Article by Lt Col Andrzej Ciechanowski, PhD: "Selected Problems of Professional Military Education"]

[Text] The beginnings of professional military education go back to 1943-1945. After many and various experiments, the following structure was developed: military graduate schools [called "akademia" in Polish, equivalent to American war colleges], higher officer candidates schools [for career officers], warrant officer candidates schools and career noncommissioned officers schools.

Military graduate schools. Five military academic-level institutions debate and train highly qualified command, political, technical, quartermaster and health service cadres in the Polish People's Republic. There are the following military graduate schools: the Polish Armed Services General Staff Academy, established by the decree of the Council of Ministers of 22 October 1947 and named after Lt Gen Karol Swierczewski in April 1948; the Academy of Political and Military Sciences, established by the act of 22 March 1951 and named after Feliks Dzierzynski; the Military Technical Academy established by the same act and named after Jaroslaw Dabrowski; the Higher Naval School [WSMW]¹, established by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of 11 June 1955 and named after the Heroes of Westerplatte on its 10th anniversary; and the Military Medical Academy, established by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of 7 November 1957 and named after Maj Gen Boleslaw Szarecki.

These schools offer postdoctoral and doctoral programs and postgraduate and undergraduate courses; they develop socialist scientific research in the armed forces and contribute to the progress of sociopolitical and technical sciences on the national scale.

Higher officer candidate schools [WSO]. These are career schools at higher level preparing commanders-specialists for all combat arms and service branches of

1. The WSMW was based on the foundation of the Naval Officers School which was established on 18 January 1948 by the Supreme Command of the Polish Armed Forces.

armed services. There are the following schools: the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School in Wroclaw, the Stefan Czarniecki Higher Armor of Officers School in Poznan, the Gen Jozef Bem Higher Rocket Troops and Artillery Officers School in Torun, the Lt Mieczyslaw Kalinowski Higher Antiaircraft Defense Officers School in Koszalin, the Gen Jakub Jaszinski Higher Engineer Officers School in Wroclaw, the Col Boleslaw Kowalski, pseudonym Ryszard, Higher Signal Officers School in Zegrze near Warsaw, the Jan Krasicki Higher Aviation Officers School in Deblin, the Stanislaw Ziaja Higher Chemical Warfare Officers School in Krakow, the Gen Aleksander Waszkiewicz Higher Automotive Officers School in Pila, the Capt Stanislaw Bartosik Higher Radiotechnical Officers School in Jelenia Gora and the Marian Buczek Higher Quartermaster Officers School in Poznan.

In the first seven WSO and in the WSMW, in addition to the command-technical course of studies, there is also a program of political education preparing the party political cadre of the Polish People's Armed Forces. Cadets study a broadly based block of sociopolitical subjects in accordance with a separate program.

WSO also cover problems of scientific research in the field of education and perform tasks for military units and the national economy.

Warrant Officer Candidate Schools. These schools correspond to secondary vocational schools. They train and educate middle-level technicians and permit the students to acquire secondary technical education. On the basis of the "Universal Duty to Defend the Polish People's Republic" Act of 21 November 1967, the Warrant Officers Corps was enlarged and established as a separate corps of career cadre of the Polish People's Armed Services. At the same time, schools training this group of career cadre were established. Currently, there are the following warrant officer candidate schools: Mechanized Troops School in Elblag (a 1-year and a 3-year course), Aviation School in Deblin (a 2-year and a 3-year course), Radiotechnical School in Jelenia Gora (a 2-year and a 3-year course), Aviation Technical Personnel School in Olesnica and in Zamosc (a 2-year and a 3-year course), Engineer and Signal School in Wroclaw (a 2-year and a 3-year course), Signal Corps School in Legnica (a 2-year and a 3-year course), Naval School in Gdynia (a 2-year course), Military Map Service School in Torun (a 2-year course), Automotive Service School in Pila (a 2-year and a 3-year course), Armament School in Oleszyn (a 2-year and a 3-year course), Quartermaster and Construction School in Gzysko (a 1-year and a 3-year course), Border Guard School in Ketrzyn (a 1-year course), and Military Administration School in Lodz (a 1-year course).

Career Noncommissioned Officers Schools. These schools prepare the immediate commanders, instructors and trainers of the basic service soldiers. Career non-commissioned officers fill the TO [Table of Organization] slots of squad leaders and combat vehicle commanders, assistant platoon leaders, assistants to company commanders, i.e., first sergeants, aircraft mechanics and other responsible technical and administrative positions. The career noncommissioned officers schools train specialists in the following branches: mechanized troops, armor, rocket troops and artillery, air force, Home Air Defense rocket troops, antiaircraft defense, chemical, signals, radiotechnical, rail and road, border guards and the Navy; also in the following support services: health, quartermaster, automotive, armament, quarters and construction and the military internal security service.

One of the most essential characteristics of our armed forces career cadre personnel groups is the openness. This means that career noncommissioned officers and warrant officers, after satisfying certain conditions, have an opportunity to move up to higher personnel groups. Their promotion depends on how well they perform their jobs and primarily how well they train and educate soldiers. Career noncommissioned officers, who are the best in these respects, are sent to warrant officer candidates schools and, if they satisfy general educational requirements, to higher professional schools for officers. Similar opportunities to move to the officer corps are available to outstanding warrant officers. They may be assigned to officer courses or to the 2-year professional study courses at the WSO and, upon completion, they are commissioned in the lowest officer rank.

The teaching program of professional military schools is oriented toward preparing commander-instructors who have the broad knowledge and the necessary skills to lead troops in combat. No less important is the development of their capability to instill the socialist outlook among soldiers. This purpose is served by a variety of factors, both of a military and sociopolitical nature, operating in schools. The training and education are accomplished simultaneously in three ways: through teaching, through apprenticeship in military units and through out-of-classroom sociopolitical work.

The teaching program includes the following training programs: sociopolitical, general military, general education and military specialization. All these programs are oriented toward preparing a career soldier who has high professional qualifications, who is a devoted sociopolitical activist having broad intellectual horizons, who is actively involved in strengthening the national defense and in socialist education of the young generation of Poles. For example, the sociopolitical program includes, among other things, Marxist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, military pedagogy, the history and basics of party and political education and activism in the armed services. The general theme in teaching these subjects is to provide the students with the best possible Marxist-Leninist knowledge, the ability to conduct class analysis and to evaluate socioeconomic and politico-military phenomena of the contemporary world.

Also, an important consideration is to inculcate the future officers with a sense of history. This is especially applicable to deepening the knowledge of the progressive, revolutionary struggle for independence and social justice of the Polish nation, the achievements to date of People's Poland and the future tasks necessary to build a developed socialist society. The point is that the graduates must be experts not only in the political-military field but also that they must be educated in the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism and that they be able to use effectively and enrich their learning in their efforts to indoctrinate soldiers in military units.

Searching for the most effective forms of education, the military career schooling system set up last year, on an experimental basis, certain alternate study programs (in the Higher Mechanized Troops Officers School and the Higher Signal Officers School). The basic purpose of these programs is to enrich the educational process and especially to facilitate better practical preparation of the

graduates to implement the tasks which will face them when they begin service in military units. Solution of this problem imposes a very demanding educational task on the cadre of WSO and tactical units where the cadets continue their third year of studies. The experiment confirmed the usefulness of this type of study program and it has been expanded to the remaining WSO.

Training assignments to military units are for the students of military professional schools the main source of learning how to perform one's duties in permanent assignments. Thus, this is a kind of "laboratory" verifying the ability of students to profit from the acquired knowledge in the process of commanding and educating soldiers. Experience shows that the evaluation of cadets' training assignments in some units is not yet fully objective. This is proven in fairly numerous instances by lowering the criteria which falsely reassures the cadets that they have acquired the necessary skills although, in fact, they have not always acquired them. Also, this state of affairs does not permit the school teaching cadre to influence rationally the subsequent educational process.

Extracurricular sociopolitical work plays a very important role in educating career cadre. That kind of work has high educational value. If it is in full agreement with the school work and if it is well organized, it multiplies the involvement of the future officers, warrant officers and noncommissioned career officers, it awakens their interest and perfects their qualifications. When social work organized in school dovetails with the training curriculum, when personal example at home and in school of the command and training cadre confirm the meaning of social work, then it has a vital influence on forming the socialist personalities of the cadets and candidates. Behavior role models and model organization of social work events are carried by the graduates to their units and they constitute the store of experience on which the graduates draw in their work in military units.

Military professional training accomplishes ever more ambitious tasks. In view of the growing needs and the current demands on the armed forces, the aim is to shape the character of the future commander and educator to fit the needs of the socialist army by skillful interweaving of theory and practice. A company or platoon commander takes direct part in training and educating soldiers, shapes their personalities, teaches them to use modern combat equipment and is responsible for the level of combat readiness. Thus, he implements the party resolutions by integrating the group of people in his company or platoon with the socialist mainstream of our society and with the efforts to protect its achievements.

In response to these needs, training programs are systematically updated, including sociopolitical subjects. The most important part is and will remain the Marxist-Leninist block of subjects; its contents constitute the methodological basis and at the same time the guarantee of effectiveness of the training and educational efforts of the graduates in their future assignments to military units. The Marxist philosophy, the socialist political economy and scientific communism are not only the theoretical explanation of an ideology, of an outlook on life and of a socioeconomic development but they also include the lasting and always current methodological directives regarding the building of the communist

society. A key problem is to thoroughly teach students how to transfer and translate the contents of congress resolutions into the everyday language of the company as platoon training and educational tasks. This purpose is served by a variety of party political work and youth and social activities in school.

Within the framework of intensification of the educational process in military professional schools, the scope of educational aids has been greatly increased. Subject-oriented workshops of Marxist-Leninism, party political work and, in some schools (centers), history of the Polish People's Armed Forces, have been set up. Now, the problem is to fully use those workshops in school and extra-curricular activities.

One of the important tasks is to acquaint thoroughly and systematically the career cadre with the current documents defining the goals, objectives, tasks and contents of party political work in the armed services. Another task is to teach the students how to master the right ways and methods of implementing these activities in their companies. In the forefront of these problems is the matter of patriotic and internationalist education. Students have to realize that the patriotism of soldiers manifests itself in conscientious and creative accomplishment of military and social tasks, in active participation in the labor leadership and competition movement and in everybody caring every day to improve his unit's combat readiness.

While teaching students the methodology of inculcating high discipline in their units, it is worth looking into the problem from the national point of view. This will permit reminding ourselves that the source of our successes is, above all, work discipline, conscientiousness and a responsible attitude to any job given to us. The way to convince, is to demonstrate responsibility in performance of duty and to consistently enforce the same attitude among the students. Effective strengthening of military discipline can be done only when this becomes the purpose of vigorous efforts of educators of all kinds: those in the service, in the party and in the social groups influencing the students.

Cultural educational activities play an essential role in the educational system. Through developing interest and through creating an emotional attitude to social reality, students are included in the mainstream of ideological education work, their civic emotions are awakened and their socialist personalities are developed. At the same time, this prepares the future commanders to use active members of the society in their working with soldiers, especially in the context of cultural activities.

The briefly described problems are the core of educational and training programs. Party work and work of the youth and social units (SH, SK [expansion unknown], RPZ [Source of Professional Noncommissioned Officers], (etc), done in schools and training centers, constitute the confirmation of this theoretical generalization. In this respect, military schools should provide their students with model solutions and the skills, knowledge and habits acquired there should constitute the starting point for the educational and training efforts of students in their units. The educational process implemented in military schools can be described

as correct only if it serves the students as the source of educational and training innovations, especially in the areas of model organizational solutions, conduct of political training, party work and youth, cultural and social activities.

Of special importance is the problem of gradually increasing the level of difficulties and of attaching proper importance to the areas included in the educational program; also of great importance is that the instructors get involved directly and individually with each student after school. Full partnership in exchanging opinions at the "roundtable," consistent enforcement of compliance with the program requirements, civilized interpersonal relations, a friendly attitude and extension of assistance to students are the basic canons of educational work in military professional schools.

A good solution is to establish cooperation with officers of tactical units who have rich experience in working with the basic service soldiers. Those officers can pass on their accumulated knowledge to the cadets and candidates. The tested way to do this is through guest lectures and party and youth meetings at which these officers share the experiences and observations acquired in their party political work.

The briefly presented problems show that the professional military schools face new, qualitatively more difficult tasks defined by the minister of national defense at the Seventh PZPR Congress. Thorough digestion of these tasks, their adaptation to the needs of each school and subsequent full implementation at every school, will assure preparation of a career military cadre commensurate with the needs and demands that the socialist army must expect to face.

Warsaw University Program

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 10, Oct 80 pp 39-41

[Article by Col Bazyli Lewczuk, PhD: "The Past and Present of the University of Warsaw Military Department"]

[Text] It was an exceptionally difficult task to organize military studies that would integrate civilian college-level schools into the process of training reserve cadres of the defense system. The foundation for the solution of this problem was laid by the act of the Sejm of 7 July 1949 which dealt with military service relief for college students. On this basis, organization of military training in civilian college-level schools began in 1949. This training was intended to replace the reserve officers school companies and its basic purpose was to train intramural students to be reserve officers.

First military departments were opened in higher engineering schools. The University of Warsaw Military Department was opened during the 1950/51 school year. Thus, this year is the 30th anniversary of its continuous educational activity. Many changes have taken place during this period: student training programs were changed, teaching cadre qualifications were upgraded, organization of teaching was altered and the state of the training base was improved; thus, the level and effectiveness of educational work with college students changed too.

Analysis of the 30-year long activity of the department leads to the conclusion that it was a continuing process of improving the armed forces reserve cadre training system and recently, also, of the civil defense cadre training. In this process, three characteristic periods can be distinguished (from the point of view of the contents of educational and training programs).

The first period covers school years 1950/51 and 1958/59. During that time, the department became a kind of reserve officers school. For the first time in the postwar period, civilian college-level schools were obligated to educate the armed forces cadre: civilian specialists and reserve officers. This way, without additional financial expenditure and without extending the length of studies, the national defense was obtaining reserve officers with higher civilian education.

After 3 years of military training in school at the rate of a few hours per week, participation in a 30-day drill in a military unit (during vacations in the last year of studies) and passing the final examination, students were commissioned in the lower officer rank (ensign) and transferred to the reserves. Military training was of a compulsory character with the resulting rigid requirements (the necessity to obtain credits, annual examinations, etc).

In the first years after being organized, the department activities were not at a high level. It was a period of improving the department organization, developing the methodology for military training of college students, enlarging the training base and developing the proper attitude among college students and scientific workers toward this new element in school.

A difficult problem was to provide the training cadre. It was planned to provide only two officer slots: the chief and his assistant. It was assumed that career officers should be only the training organizers. The actual teaching of students was to be conducted by "guest" officers from local military units. In the case of the University of Warsaw Military Department, the responsibility was assigned to the officers of the 1st Praga Infantry Regiment. This solution to providing the teaching cadre did not pass the test. Also, the method of scheduling military instruction an hour a day on various days of the week (in so called "windows" after other subjects were scheduled) did not work. Thus, it was necessary to eliminate various shortcomings while "on the move."

Many measures were undertaken to improve training of students. Among them, the number of staff positions in the department was increased to four career officers and, starting in the 1953/54 school year, the positions of civilian instructors were established (experienced reserve officers were employed). The rule of a full day of military training once a week was introduced. Drill uniform of students was standardized (field caps and coveralls).

These undertakings produced noticeable organizational effects. They could not, however, produce radical changes, especially in the level of teaching and training the students, because the civilian instructors were neither in the position to conduct the practical training at a proper level nor could they inculcate soldierly bearing and command habits. In 1957, civilian instructors were

replaced by career officers. Still, it was felt that the graduates with officer commissions had only average theoretical preparation and completely lacked command experience.

First of all, it was necessary to provide a legal basis for the system of military training of students, stop the practice of commissioning those college graduates who were not qualified and radically raise the level of military instruction. The decisions to implement these steps constituted the beginning of the second period of educational activities of the military department.

The second period includes the school years 1959/60 through 1971/72. The practice of commissioning graduates in the lowest officer rank was abandoned. From then on, a graduate received a noncommissioned officer rank and the title of officer cadet in the reserves. The basis of the department operation was the act of the Sejm of 30 January 1959 which established that military training in the framework of the department was a compulsory subject of studies and that it constituted one of the forms of satisfying the universal military service obligation.

In accordance with the above-mentioned regulations, students were trained for 450 hours through four semesters. During the first two semesters, general military training was conducted. After passing an examination, specialized training followed. The students who qualified for specialized training, received the title of officer cadet and, after passing the examination covering specialized training, were sent during vacations to military units for a 6 to 8 weeks training period ending with an examination in the unit. They were transferred to the reserves with a noncommissioned officer rank and the title of officer cadet. A graduate could obtain an officer's commission after attending a 2-3 month Reserve Officers Training Course. Commissions under this system were given only to those reserve officer cadets who completed a training period in a unit and demonstrated proper preparation for command.

During the 1969/70 school year, female students were included in training for the first time. They were obligated to attend 270 hours of instruction and, starting in 1970/71, 240 hours. This decision created new problems because it increased the number of trainees, required preparation of cadres in the area of civil self-defense, enlargement of the training base and development of methodology to train women. It was a complex process but the cadre mastered the new problems quickly.

In this period, a gradual rapprochement took place between the military department instructors and the other college teachers in the fields of teaching methodology and educational work with the youth. In a way, the military instructors were integrated into the body of the higher school. Military training was achieving the rank that it deserved among other academic subjects.

1. This act was the basis for issuing Ministry of National Defense (MON) Directive of 21 July 1959 regarding military training of students and Directive No 2/MON of 10 January 1970. During the hours of military training, students were to be legally subject to military discipline and dress regulations (military uniforms were introduced).

It may seem that in the second period a fully matured method of training reserve cadre for the armed forces was developed. Unfortunately, many shortcomings were noted. Among them, was a relatively low level of teaching cadre preparation in the area of general and specialized education, lack of training bases especially for firing practice and tactical training and the limited capability of the department to develop in the students the skills needed for command and instructing. For these reasons, the "developed" cycle of training the reserve cadre could not be continued, especially since, as Prof B. Miskiewicz said, the demands on the officer cadre grow as the nation's defense system improves.

It was necessary to switch to a system of reserve officer training which would create for students the conditions that favor developing greater familiarity with military units and more practice in commanding platoons and companies. It was necessary to place the military and defense training of students as an integral part in the newly developed system for training reserve cadre giving full consideration to the progress of pedagogical thought and the state of sociopolitical preparedness of college youth. The new programs stress strongly the theory of military-defense education of students and the development of patriotic and defense conscious attitudes among them. Thus, the military training in the department was given academic characteristics.²

The 1972/73 school year was, in a way, a preparatory year for the introduction of new programs. That year there was no military training for students. Training was limited to the subjects of civil self-defense.

The third period includes school years 1973/74 through 1979/80. The beginning was very difficult for us because the introduction of new programs coincided with the change of department location. Until school year 1975/76, i.e., until we obtained and set up our own instruction building and until we enlarged our base and prepared the teaching aids, the instructions were conducted in nine different places in Warsaw and at a relatively low level. In the following years radical changes took place.

Starting with school year 1973/74, a student's road to a commission was much longer and included:

--180 hours of military instruction in the third or fourth year of studies;

2. The legal bases for the changes were provided by:

- a. Act of Sejm of the Polish People's Republic of 21 November 1967 as amended by the Act of 23 June 1973.
- b. Resolution No 240 of the Council of Ministers of 8 September 1972 regarding training in military units of persons subject to military training of students and regarding the defense training of students.
- c. Directive of the MON No 27/MON of 26 March 1973 regarding military and defense training of college-level students (amended several times).

- a 6-month course (2 months for translators) for college graduates at a reserve officers school (SOR);
- a 6-month training assignment (2 months for translators) of the SOR graduates to military units to act in responsible officer (translator) or warrant officer positions.

The basic purpose of the military department was to prepare quality candidates for the reserve officers schools. The military instruction program included: sociopolitical instruction, 36 hours (since 1976, 18 hours); tactical training, 94 hours; selected organizational and legal problems, 14 hours; and selected topics of weapons instruction, 18 hours. The balance of 180 hours was at the disposal of the department chief. Military instruction was given in blocks of 6 to 7 hours 1 day a week in the third or fourth year of studies. During training, the students get semester grades for training and discipline. The successful completion of military training is decided by the final examination graded by a panel. In the middle of the last semester of studies, the selection of candidates for reserve officers school is made. Records of students who do not qualify for the SOR are sent to WKU [Voivodship Draft Offices] for the purpose of transferring these students to the reserves as enlisted men.

Military training of students is an important task but not the only one. Additionally, male students unfit for military service and female intramural students were trained in accordance with the general defense program; they received 180 hours of instruction on the same schedule as the military training. The purpose of the general defense training was to prepare students to act as commanders and instructors in the area of civil defense at the plant level in peacetime, in time of emergency and during war.

While implementing these purposes, great effort was devoted to forming proper attitudes: ideological and moral, sociopolitical, patriotic and internationalist. During instruction, the character of modern war, its possible course, the seriousness of its effects and resulting threat to population, economy and national culture were explained to the young people. In connection with this, they became acquainted with the substance and character of the Polish People's Republic defense system, the role and significance of civil defense within the system of national defense, the organizational structure and tasks of its individual elements and the principles of protecting the population, the economy and the objects of national culture. Finally, students were taught to plan and to conduct rescue operations in peace and in wartime.

Students being trained in defense received their semester credits and sat for their final panel examination.

The University of Warsaw Military Department served well the cause of national defense.

The department has to its credit outstanding training, educational and organizational achievements. Thanks to the selfless work of officer lecturers and civilian employees, we have established in a short time a good indoor teaching facility equipped with the latest educational aids.

The department developed technology suitable to our conditions for military training of male students and general defense training of female students. In this effort, great reliance was placed on the participatory format of instruction and wide use of educational technology. In the school year 1977/78, four officers were honored for exemplary educational work and awarded the Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology Prize, third class.

The department has undertaken some research work but, so far, on a small scale. This was manifested by symposia with the participation of the school scientific cadre, students and representatives of several ministries (MON, MNSz WIT; [Science, Higher Education and Technology], MoIW [Education and upbringing]). The results were a planning model and a set of standard training papers. This work was published as a supplement to PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH (REVIEW OF LAND FORCES) and received a citation in the orders of the minister of national defense.

The department has participated and is participating in the implementation of a schoolwide program for education of college youth. The department makes an active effort to popularize the defense problems in the college community. The effect of these efforts was the organization in 1976 of the National Defense League and of a Reserve Officers Club at the University of Warsaw. These organizations are still very active today.

The 30-year-long development of the military department and its contribution to the formation of the reserve cadre are the results of creative work of the educational cadre. At first it did not have the required qualifications, especially the qualifications confirmed by scientific degrees and titles. But that cadre was always characterized by devotion to duty and involvement, high moral and ideological qualities, great sense of responsibility, close relationship with the army and the civilian college environment.

Today, two officers have doctor's degrees, three have started their doctoral work, two are working on their masters and four are studying at the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. This proves how big are the changes in the level of education of the department teaching cadre, even in comparison to the seventies, and how great are the cadre teaching capabilities.

The designation of the University of Warsaw Military Department to introduce, on an experimental basis in the school year 1980/81; the new temporary program of military education for students in college level schools under the MNSz WIT and the GKPFIS [Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports?] is a sign of confidence in us. Carrying out the new tasks, the department cadre will contribute further to the education of the armed forces reserve cadre and to the national civil defense system.

Military Aviation Schools

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 2, 11 Jan 81 p 15

[Article: "Military Aviation Schools"]

[Text] There are many letters to the editor from readers who are interested in obtaining information about military aviation schools. We have written many a time on this subject but, to oblige our friends, we will remind them what these schools are and we will provide a little information about what needs to be done to get into them. Here are the data about higher schools:

--Jan Krasicki Higher Aviation Officers Schools in Deblin;

--Gen Jozef Bem Higher Rocket Troops and Artillery Officers School in Torun;

--Lt Mieczyslaw Kalinowski Higher Antiaircraft Defense Officers School in Koszalin;

--Capt Sylwester Bartosik Higher Radiotechnical Officers School in Jelenia Gora.

The studies last 4 years. The graduates are commissioned as second lieutenants of the Polish Armed Forces and receive a college diploma and the title of Master of Science (Engineering). The necessary prerequisites are: Polish citizenship, high moral character and political credentials, physical fitness to serve as a career soldier certified by a proper military medical panel, unmarried, completion of a secondary school which qualifies for higher education and age under 24 years. To be admitted to the Higher Aviation Officers School one must possess a proper physical fitness certified by the aviation medical panel.

Applications/questionnaires (which can be obtained at Draft Offices or at military schools) should be submitted through the Draft Office to the commandant of the selected school. The following should be enclosed: a copy of the birth certificate, proof of Polish citizenship if the applicant does not have an internal passport and the school diploma (in the original) that proves that the applicant has the required education. Students in the last year of secondary schools may submit certificates of attendance and submit the diplomas immediately after they receive them. Also to be submitted: a recommendation or evaluation of the school authority, of a social, or a political organization or from the place of employment; plus two 3x4 cm photographs. The candidates must pass a competitive entrance examination covering the material taught in secondary school.

The entrance examinations, physical fitness tests, psychological tests and admission interviews will take place at the Higher Aviation Officers School in Deblin in June this year and at the other schools in the middle of July.

And now about the warrant officers schools and the career noncommissioned officers schools related to aviation:

--Aviation Warrant Officers School in Deblin (2-year course);

--Radiotechnical Troops Warrant Officers School in Jelenia Gora (2- and 3-year courses);

--Aviation Technician Warrant Officers School in Olesnica and in Zamosc (2- and 3-year courses).

Graduates of secondary vocational schools and academic high schools are accepted for the 2-year courses. Applicants from the ranks and well prepared applicants from outside who have been graduated from Basic Vocational Schools are accepted for the 3-year courses.

There are the following noncommissioned officers schools: Aviation, Rocket Troops and Artillery, Home Air Defense Rocket Troops, Antiaircraft Defense Troops, and Radiotechnical Troops. Applications are also accepted to the Aviation Senior High School attached to the Higher Aviation Officers School in Deblin and to its branch in Zielona Gora.

Further information is available at Draft Offices, military units headquarters and military school offices. Information may be also available at the information desks for the applicants to military vocational schools and civilian college level schools.

New System for Military Students

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 81 p 5

[Article: "Starting at the Beginning of This School Year--A New System for Military Training of Students"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, a new modified system is in force for long-term military training of civilian college-level school graduates. Brig Gen Tadeusz Dziekan, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate, Polish Army, stated that the updated military service system for graduates of college-level schools was preceded by research and consultations and that it better reflects both the needs of the armed forces and the students. The system being implemented, in contradistinction to the previous one, is uniform and creates equal opportunity for all schools.

All college graduates fit for military service are sent to Reserve Officer Cadet Schools (there are some differences in case of art school graduates).

As a result, the existing Reserve Officer Schools were transformed into Reserve Officer Cadet Schools. They have a 4-month course of study which, in conjunction with an 8-month training assignment, assures proper preparation of officer cadets to function in basic officer jobs or in other positions.

Thus, stated General Dziekan, the training cycle of a future reserve officer consists of three elements: theoretical foundations at the military department,

training at the Reserve Officer Cadet School and training assignment. This system attempts to tie the cadet's qualifications acquired at school with military teaching.

Detailed information regarding the military training system for college students and graduates is available from the Voivodship Military Staffs.

8801

CSO: 2600/203

BRIEFS

REPORTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT--There is unemployment at all levels in Romania. In January there were massive reductions of personnel in all enterprises, cooperatives, institutions and ministries, reductions of about 40-50 percent [of the workforce]. These workers were handed over to the offices for the allocation of labor. These offices do not take into account the professional skills of the workers and assign them to heavy labor in agriculture or on various worksites. It is known that about 3,000 workers were fired in the Navodari petrochemical combine. Some 1,500 workers in the sugar products factory in Brasov and about 2,000 workers and functionaries in the "Titan" works in Bucharest have been assigned to the labor offices. There have also been massive reductions of personnel in the hospitals and in various trade enterprises of lesser importance. These "unemployed" do not receive any unemployment compensation since legislation in the Socialist Republic of Romania does not provide for any unemployment fund. This situation is a result of the energy crisis and especially, of the fact that Romanian industry cannot compete with capitalist industry on international markets. [Excerpts] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Mar 81 p 3]

CSO: 2700/286

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN KOSOVO, 23 APRIL-21 MAY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian SEDAM DANA Supplement 6 Jun 81 p 17

[Chronology compiled by Shefki Uka]

[Excerpts] This is a continuation of the chronology of the events in Kosovo (we published the first part in No 164) which broke out in the last days of April and the first 3 weeks of May. Who participated in the demonstrations and prepared the outbreaks in Istok, Kacanik, Dobro Selo, Pristina, Pec, Gnjilane, Orahovac, Suva Raka, Decane and Lipjani?

Istok, Thursday, 30 April

2000 hours: About 200 pupils of the Secondary School Center in Istok, among them some university students, attempted to organize demonstrations on a sizable scale. The demonstrators moved from the center of the city toward the Secondary School Center, and then toward the elementary school, the building of the opstina assembly and the square. Since none of the individual citizens and workers joined them, they made another circle through the city, shouting the slogan: "Kosovo a republic." They carried two Albanian flags. They dispersed after intervention of the police. In these demonstrations 11 policemen and 2 demonstrators were injured.

Kacanik, Tuesday, 5 May

1345 hours: A group of pupils (between 250 and 300) from the Secondary School Center in Kacanik left the schoolyard at the end of classes and headed through the center of the town toward a protruding classroom of the elementary school, shouting the slogans: "Republic," "Conditions," "It is our holiday," "Anyone who doesn't join us is a traitor," "Long live the working class." The instructors of the school center were unable to disperse the pupils because they were teaching classes at the time when the pupils went out.

Dobro Selo, Tuesday, 5 May

1100 hours: A group of pupils of the elementary school in Dobro Selo (about 30 to 40 pupils) left the schoolyard after the end of classes and headed for the village Ada. They broke glass in a trencher and self-propelled roller of the "Ramiz

Sadiku" enterprise, and also threw stones at the watchman's hut. The group fled in all directions in the village Ada when the watchman intervened.

Pristina, Tuesday, 12 May

2200 hours: Students gathered, shouted, whistled and threw flaming papers and newspapers through the windows of dormitories 1, 2, 3 and 4 at the University Student Center in Pristina. A bit later a group of about 150 students gathered in the yard between the dormitories. They continued to sing and whistle, they set fire to trash in trash cans about the dormitories. Individuals threw bottles and jars, shouting hostile slogans: "Kosovo republic" and "Down with spies."

Public and political authorities took appropriate steps through activists, who spoke with the students, and the situation calmed down about 0300 hours.

Pristina, Monday, 18 May

1915 hours: About 200 students assembled in the yard between the student dormitories in Pristina. At the beginning they stood in groups, sang songs and danced folk dances, but then they began shouting the slogans: "A republic one way or the other," "We want our comrades," "Those who don't join us are traitors," and so on.

The group dispersed about 2100 hours when public and political leaders intervened.

Pec, Tuesday, 19 May

1900 hours: A group of students of the Junior Postsecondary Business School in Pec (20 to 30 persons) went out in front of the dormitory and began to dance and sing. The security forces were informed in good time and sent a group of officers there. The students nevertheless shouted the slogans: "Brotherhood and unity," "Fadil, Fadil," and when they went into the dormitory they raised their hands with clenched fists and shouted "Republic, republic by peaceable means or by force."

There were also several attempts to organize demonstrations. We will mention only the most drastic cases:

Gnjilane, Thursday, 23 April

Pupils in the first phase of vocational education in Gnjilane were preparing to organize demonstrations. They came up to pupils and called upon them to come out in favor of the demonstrations, and then they entered them on a list. This list of some 60 names was found in the possession of one pupil.

They intended to organize demonstrations on 29 and 30 April.

Orahovac, Wednesday, 29 April

Some ten 2d-, 3d- and 4th-year students at the "Ramiz Sadiku" Secondary School Center in Orahovac were preparing demonstrations for 30 April. They intended to begin them at 1330 hours in front of the "Park" Hotel.

Suva Reka, Monday, 4 May

Certain pupils of the "Jeta e Re" Secondary School Center in Suva Reka were preparing demonstrations for 4 May. Their intention was to submit written demands for improvement of conditions in the schools; in other words, they were looking for the slightest pretext for debate so that they could undertake demonstrations.

Decane, Monday, 4 May

A group of secondary and university students in Decane attempted to organize demonstrations in Decane for 4 May. In preparation for that occasion they printed up 1,500 pamphlets containing an appeal for demonstrations which the security forces discovered in good time and confiscated, along with two mimeograph machines and a typewriter, and appropriate measures were taken against the organizers.

Lipljani, Thursday, 21 May

A group of about 300 to 600 pupils waiting for their buses home were at the bus station in Lipljani. Four pupils of the Center for Secondary Education in Lipljani and two university students began to shout slogans with hostile content: "We want a republic," "Down with traitors," and "We want our comrades...."

This group had previously held several meetings and intended to organize demonstrations. However, when they failed in this, they decided to go to the bus station on their own so as to provoke and win over the pupils and other people in order to carry out demonstrations.

7045

CSO: 2800/264

STATEMENT OF YUGOSLAV CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 81 p 3

[Statement by the Assembly of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops (Catholic) issued 30 April 1981 in Zagreb]

[Text] In connection with statements made by certain representatives of public forums and the news media in the recent past concerning the activity of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, we Catholic bishops, meeting in Zagreb from 28 to 30 April 1981 in our regular spring assembly of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops, issue the following unanimous statement for the public.

1. In performance of our duties as bishops we nurture respect and love toward persons who think and act differently from us, but we cannot be indifferent toward the truth and the good. We are always mindful that the very mission of the Church is not of a political, but of a religious nature, i.e., it is to spread the Kingdom of God and to save souls. We love the nationalities to which we belong, and we are loyal to our legitimate government, but we resolutely reject the charge that we have any claims of a political nature whatsoever or any desire for social privileges. However, no bishop can renounce the right to perform his religious and moral mission unhindered, nor can he renounce the duty to pronounce a moral judgment when this is required by fundamental human rights and the saving of souls.

2. We protest that at times the performance of our religious activity, which is based on God's love, is wrongly interpreted. It is our mission to issue admonitions when those laws are violated through discrimination against religious believers in practice. We emphasize that we would betray our mission as bishops if we did not issue an admonition by all permissible means and defend our believers from the atheization which is being systematically conducted in our society.

3. The constitution and law guarantee religious freedom such as freedom of contact with the Holy See, freedom in the naming of bishops and the installation of priests and other religious officers; freedom of evangelization and catechization, and freedom of the religious press.

Yet some of these and other freedoms have been appreciably restricted in practice, for example: the neglect of religious believers in society and in public life; pressure on parents and young people because of attending courses in religion;

exclusion of religion and the Church from the news media; restriction of the religious rights of religious believers in certain hospitals, in certain social welfare homes and in prisons when they desire and seek the aid of religious officers; the fact that believers in the armed forces are unable to perform their religious duties; and difficulties in construction of new church structures.

4. As for the case of Cardinal Alojzij Stepinac, we declare that we are witnesses of the spontaneous respect that has been lastingly shown at his grave. We hope that one day the Church will pronounce its judgment concerning this respect and concerning the personality of Cardinal Stepinac from the standpoint of religious morality, once it has objectively examined all the testimony.

5. The Catholic Church in Yugoslavia performs its mission with the strength of Christ's doctrine in full conformity with the Holy See and in the firm unity and cooperation of the bishops and all local churches of our nationalities.

In the spirit of the Second Vatican Council our church is willing to cooperate with other churches, religious communities and our society in the service of man and on the basis of equal rights and mutual understanding and respect. We wish to live together with all citizens in peace and fairness. We consider public defense against public charges and a sincere, open and free dialogue in seeking solutions to matters in dispute to be a basic civil right.

Zagreb, 30 April 1981

Bishops of Yugoslavia

7045

CSO: 2800/266

YUGOSLAV CATHOLIC BISHOPS' CONFERENCE DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian SEDAN DANA Supplement 23 May 81 p 18

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic]

[Text] Two of the most important topics at the spring meeting of the Yugoslav bishops' conference were the situation in which the Catholic Church has found itself recently, and the debate about nudism.

"Nudism has become profitable commerce, but it is very dangerous for the people's morality. Since no one has the right to earn money at the expense of public morality, the Catholic episcopate declares publicly on the matter that it considers the moral interests of the nation are consciously being sacrificed for material profit."

At the recent conference the bishops added on that subject that those families who accept tourists as guests in their homes should not permit the tourists to walk around the house in bathing suits. Healthy taste and propriety demand that bathing suits be worn for swimming and sunning on the beach, but that they not be permitted for walking around a family home, for entering public institutions or stores, or for walking around town.

Along with this debate about nudism, the agenda of the spring meeting of the Yugoslav bishops' conference (held in Zagreb at the end of April) considered the current status of the Catholic Church after, as the communique stated, "the declarations of some representatives of public forums and media for public information." In the opinion of the bishops, "the matter was comprehensively and fundamentally examined, with all available information being presented. It was determined that the bishops must speak out at this moment, since silence would be a serious omission."

But if the bishops' statement about nudism, in spite of the not entirely artless charges (so that Yugoslav society is being accused of consciously sacrificing the moral interests of the people), strikes one as farcical and hardly worthy even of such freaks as Don Camillo and Peppone, then their later statement, as noted recently by an Austrian newspaper, strikes one as "an attack by Catholic bishops on the state for restricting freedom" (NEUE ZEIT of 6 May 1981). But let us look at what our bishops are saying.

A Shot in the Dark

Under point 1 (of the 5 points in the statement), the bishops stress among other things that they are loyal to the legal authorities, but that they resolutely reject the charge that they have any political pretensions or desire for social privileges.

In that connection it should be pointed out that no one from a public forum or from a medium of public information has ever accused either the Catholic episcopate or the Catholic Church of the indicated intentions. It was always individuals within the Catholic Church or the episcopate who were mentioned in regard to attempts in one way or another (and who continue such attempts now) to use their religious belief for political purposes. In that regard, this whole affair of "resolutely rejecting the accusation" is a shot in the dark because it does not apply to anyone except those who have tried to show the entire matter as an attack on the Church as a whole, and to present their individual and group positions as those of the whole Church before the public. In any case, there are mechanisms in the Church to facilitate that very easily, particularly within the Yugoslav context.

Therefore it should not be remarkable that the bishops (formally) declare loyalty to the legal authorities, but nowhere in the statement did they mention their acceptance of the fundamental principles of Yugoslav unaligned self-management community. This certainly is not pure chance. It only says that the "profile" of the most influential part of the Catholic episcopate here is such that it regards it as completely normal to assert: "We stress that we would have betrayed our calling as bishops if we had not used all permissible means to warn and defend our faithful from official atheism that is systematically promoted in our society." Here it is easy, without any argument, to condemn our society for systematic atheism, and then for "discrimination of believers" (the latter syntagma is mentioned in the statement). Much more concern is provoked by the part that says that it is the task of the bishops to defend their believers. Clearly that smells of understanding the Church as a party organization of believers. In any case, that is confirmed in a unique manner by Radio Vatican (in the Croatian language broadcast of 25 March of this year), when it transmitted the news of the Catholic agency TIPA in which, among other things, it said: "Up until now the Party asserted that religiosity was declining in Yugoslavia, but the facts are different: the Church is the only organization that came out of the seventies' purges stronger. Its believers and partisans today include many one-time communists who are disenchanted with their party."

Specifically, until now we knew that the Church was gathering believers, and now with the help of TIPA and Radio Vatican we are discovering that it also has adherents that, in its opinion, are appropriate for a party organization. Of course, we do not think that the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia is a party organization, but that there are some who would like to make it one. The latter is witnessed by numerous actions and endeavors of some bishops and clergy. Those who identify the Church with that group speak of the Catholic Church as a "political church" (for example, Christine von Kohl in a recent seminar in Vienna on the topic "The Church and religious congregations in Eastern Europe"), or they speak about the church as having partisans, or about the church as an organization in

which massive numbers become believers because of their own political inhibitions! If that were not the case, would the church be able to gain strength in that manner, according to those interpreters?

An Unacceptable Division

It is sad that our bishops by their statement accommodate the indicated positions, and at the same time, fall into a contradiction when, on the one hand, they assert that they have no pretensions of a political nature, while on the other hand they say that it is their duty to defend their believers, and that means that they must represent them before the society and the state. How far that is from political and social partnership with existing sociopolitical organizations is not hard to judge. Nor is it hard to see that such positions move in the direction of an unacceptable division into believers and those who are not, creating the impression that that is some sort of line of demarcation in Yugoslav society, and not a relationship based on the fundamental principles of our self-management socialist community. If the bishops wish to do something for their believers, then it would be normal to do so in such a manner that would contribute to the more rapid humanization of the entire society, which means the construction of those social mechanisms that will assure freedom, along the lines which this society has followed for fully 40 years. Certainly that line has been confirmed many times before the witness of history, and need not be proved again. In that connection it is not irrelevant to mention the words of the well-known Jesuit theologian Roberto Tuccio, the director of the Vatican journal CIVILTA CATTOLICA who has synthesized the relationship of the Church (inspired by the Church Council) toward the state: "Let the Christian who makes politics think about the homeland, and not about the Church. He who first of all advocates the Church's interests and fights for it is developing clericalism, and not the new and true Christian policy. Such a Christian is the last remnant of an anachronistic notion of the Church's worldly power."

Moral Arbiters

But, instead of that, our bishops (as emerges from their statement) claim the right to "declare a moral judgment when that is required by the moral right of the human person and the salvation of the soul." They claim to be the moral arbiters to a society whose basic principles they do not even want to mention, let alone to publicly support (as the Bishops' Conference of Yugoslavia) and to promote their advancement. Thus, among other things, for them the Constitution and law that guarantees religious freedom, are something that someone else must bring to realization in their totality, while they keep for themselves the right, in their statement, to declare that in practice those freedoms are "noticeably limited." Naturally, not even those assertions are backed by any justification, but nevertheless they are raised to the rank of principles of our social practice. Therefore, we should not be surprised when PICCOLO and DIE PRESSE join NEUE ZEIT (to name just a few western newspapers) assert that the Catholic bishops have attacked the state for limiting freedoms!

Therefore, we regard the statement of the council of the Yugoslav Bishops' Conference to be far from the line of deepening the dialogue and cooperation between the Church and the state in Yugoslavia, just as they miss the line reflected by

the following words of Pope John Paul II: "The Church wants to make its specific contribution for the general welfare of the citizens of individual nation and for the entire international community in responsible cooperation with state authorities. In this it is not guided by political calculation or economic interests, nor by any other reasons, but only by its general task of proclaiming the Gospel to the service of man and the human community. Thus the Church and the Holy See will exert their efforts on the level of official diplomatic relations and international political cooperation among nations for the general welfare of man, for peace, and for a just social order in particular nations and among all nations."

But if this statement is not on that line, then it is on one that first of all is such as to show the world that our Yugoslav bishops are so complex that they can state that nudism is an example of conscious sacrifice of the moral interests of the nation for profit, while on the other side they bear witness to unity but in this statement they make it overly transparent. Specifically, at the same time as the statement was being published, one of our archbishops declared: "Mutual understanding, respect and coordination are the bases for the successful development of relations between the Church and the self-management society."

12131

CSO: 2800/250

CATHOLIC PRESS DISCUSSES FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Zabreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 81 p 2

[Text] The press campaign, which worried many people, but which much more stimulated and satisfied interest in the recent past, died out just as it began. Is that a sign that the reasonable judgements of those who hold that there is no sense in our clashing here for who knows what reason, and for who knows whose account, are winning out? There are undecided matters in the relations between Church and state in our country, and they will probably continue to be here for a long time, so that there will be critical commentary and discussion and wishes for improvement.

Freedom of religion comes down to freedom of conscience; the freedom of religious assembly and the expression of religious beliefs in all facets of life is inseparable from the freedom to gather and seek agreement. Therefore, all the talk of freedom and the dignity of man, and for the believers the biblical proclamations that freedom is the greatest blessing, that is God's hope for man, the object of God's primordial love. For that freedom and dignity of man, God-head, Jesus Christ died; in His resurrection that freedom and dignity is forever affirmed.

Yet that freedom of belief certainly is not limited merely to the freedom to enter church edifices, nor to the freedom of the clergy publicly to show that without the direct intervention of state authority it can resolve internal questions of church organization, from the schooling of the priesthood to financing the construction of church buildings.

Neither is that freedom limited to the possibility or impossibility of open expression of opinions regarding court cases that occurred prior to 1948, or to the freedom to praise or censure church persons who were declared guilty by those court cases!

The freedom of belief in God, who loves the freedom and dignity of man as both an individual and a community being, as a unique person, a family and a nation, is something much higher and broader and deeper and more desirable.

If we speak of "satisfying the religious needs" of the citizenry, we must keep in mind that the religious needs of a believer include the possibility of complete devotion to mankind in God's name, nothing less or more than that. A church structure that would have to "satisfy the religious needs of the citizenry" must

therefore inspire every man and every social structure to undertake to advance everything that makes a man free and dignified, and to oppose everything that might question that dignity and that freedom.

This is neither an attempt at political representation of citizen-believers, nor a rejection of the autonomy of earthly values, but rather it is the only possible Catholic concept of the believer's position and involvement on earth. That is religious anticlericalism where the freedom of religion is limited to clerical privileges, where the influence of the Gospel in public life does not mean the prestige of clerical parties or those allied with them.

For these reasons, from the depth of our hearts we regard the present campaign in our newspapers as a very dangerous trend in the contemporary clericalization of the Church. Neither the clergy nor any of our politicians want to restrict the Church to only priests and bishops, to the clergy, and then to satisfy that clergy with privileges or hold it in rein with a firm hand, and thus deal with the Church, with the entire people of God. For every security, they rush to assert that it is an effort toward true freedom of religion in clericalism.

"To cry wolf,"...but at the same time very responsible atheists present lectures on blind, truly clericalistic faithfulness and obedience to the Vatican!

The article in the Ljubljana newspaper DELO of 18 April, and the report of AKSA [expansion perhaps Association of Catholic Clergy] of 24 April represent more than a scholastic example of that attempted clericalization of the Church. A responsible comrade has spoken of the Church in Croatia and the Church in Slovenia as though we were common zealots of the Holy See, as international political forces, as if we were some kind of Vatican drones that move or stop at a glance from the Vatican. And then why would they waste time seeking a normalization of relations with these clergy and believers, when it is much simpler to make an agreement with the Vatican and have the Vatican pacify us!

There you have it, the convinced Marxists are teaching us blind obedience to the Pope, - even though they see that the Pope is not blind!

Who does not recall the quite different words of Comrade Tito on 2 July 1945 when he said to the Zagreb clergy, headed by bishop Salis-Saewis: "For my part, I would say that our church should be more national, that it should accommodate more to the nation. Perhaps it is somewhat amazing that I am defending nationalism so resolutely I must openly say that I do not presume the right to condemn Rome, the supreme Roman Authority, no, that I will not do, but I must say that I look critically upon it, because it always leans more toward Italy than toward our people. I would like to see the Catholic church have more independence in Croatia now that we have all the conditions for it. That I would like, that is a basic question, that is a question that we would like to resolve...."

The times have certainly changed, and the people have changed as well, but certain politicians, nevertheless, have not progressed in their knowledge of the Catholic Church or the Holy See, nor even of Vatican diplomacy. Yet the Church in Croatia was religiously faithful to the Holy See in 1945, and it is equally faithful to it today. And the Holy See knew and will know how to be faithful, not only to the principles of its diplomacy, but to the nations that embody the Church.

CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL GROUP OPENS CRITICAL FORUM

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo Croatian SEDAM DANA Supplement 16 May 81 p 20

[Interview with theologist Stipe Bagaric, leader of the "Theological Thursday" discussion group, and commentary by Nenad Ivankovic]

[Text] The lectures that have so far been held at the "Christian Present" forum bear witness to the fact that some Yugoslav theologians have attempted to respond to the questions that modern life in Yugoslavia brings up, and this opens prospects for a possible elaboration of the theology that has emerged from the Yugoslav "here" and "now."

With justification, the question is raised as to why in a self-management socialist society there has not developed, within the Catholic Church, for example, a theology of self-management? The question is even more logical since in recent decades many new modern theologies have emerged from the social fabric of capitalism. In a unique and previously unknown way, these new theologies have explicated the social conscience and mood of Catholics in countries that in many ways are very diverse. Thus, since the sixties we have seen a theology of revolution, a theology of liberation, a theology of force, specific political theologies, and a theology of development, but so far no theology that has emerged from socialist social practice.

If, therefore, we are amazed by the fact that here (and in other socialist countries) we do not encounter theologies that would as a form of the Christian theological conscience elaborate social reality, then certainly it is totally surprising that there is not even an adequately developed theology of the Christian attitude toward socialism, or even of the Christian contribution to its construction.

Does that mean that theological thought in Yugoslavia still has not attained that freedom, about which John Paul II (when visiting the FRG) spoke as "a valuable principle" for every theological investigation, stressing that "the church teachers and theology have differing tasks, and therefore one cannot be equated with the other, even though they serve the same cause?" Or is that a sign of the lack of a lasting and fruitful dialogue between theology and the teaching profession, and the modern world?

Regardless of the topic and the factors that have brought this situation, it seems clear that the moribund state of Yugoslav theology (and thus a unique sort of Christian autarchy) has been brought by circumstances that in a somewhat unusual

manner are depicted by one of our famous theologians in speaking of his doctrinal habitus: "I am not any sort of progressist, not because I would not like to be, but because modern world theological thought has been unknown to our Christian environment for too long, so that a dialogue with it has been lacking, and consequently, one among ourselves has also been lacking. Therefore, it is nothing unusual if I say that in the best situation, I could only be termed a moderate conservative. But even as such, I turn out to be God only knows what kind of progressive Christian thinker....."

A Socialist Type of Church

At the beginning of this year the Zagreb theological society "The Christian Present" initiated the discussion forum "Theological Thursday," which judging from the lectures held so far, is truly a nice example and a valuable contribution to the development of theological thought here, and also an attempt to encourage a dialogue among Christians, as well as a dialogue with Marxists. Considering what has been said so far, it is certainly noteworthy. Just recently a cycle of 8 lectures was completed. It was opened by Dr Tomislav Sagi-Bunic, who spoke about "creative Catholicism." In attempting to typify Catholicism for the third millennium, Dr Sagi-Bunic among other things declared that the Church needs to develop its catholicity, but in so doing, to refrain from seeking worldly power. Instead, it must cooperate with the authorities, trying to be an inspirational and open force toward all the values that exist, including those among non-Christians, or those who are atheists. The creativeness of such a concept of catholicity (which does not seek after power and domination) consists of respect and acceptance of everything that humanity has created positively, and of the capability to discover true vital values and joy in that.

The last lecture this semester was presented by Fra Luka Markesic, professor of theology from Sarajevo, on the theme "Prospects of Religion and the Church in the Self-management Socialist Society." Among other things, he emphasized that in its essence, Christianity contains a revolutionary force for changing the world, and the possibility of accepting a pluralistic vision. Fra Markesic said that the Church as an institution, on the basis of its historical development, has the capability of accepting various forms and formats. It is not impossible for it to study and find "a socialist type of Church." Fra Markesic believes that on the basis of the positive experience up until now, it could be concluded that there is an open possibility for the Church and the Christian religion to find ways to fulfill its role in the self-management socialist society.

Other inspiring presentations were Dr Vjekoslav Bajsic's "Problems of Man Between Stereotype and Individuality," Dr Bonaventura Dude's "Public Opinion in the Early Church," and Dr Josip Turcinovic's "Europe United and Diverse,-Visions and Achievements," on the occasion of the proclamation of Saints Cyril and Methodius as joint defenders of Europe. In drawing the chief turning points in European history, Dr Turcinovic stressed that historical development until now has led to the point where Europe is no longer the center for colonizing other parts of the world. Rather, today it is an important point in which the Christians of West and East meets the inhereents of other religions, atheists, and Marxists. The end of colonialism and the independence of nations formed the basis for the creation of unity in diversity, first in Europe and then in worldwide dimensions.

Dr Ljudevit Rupcic, a professor of theology from Sarajevo, presented the theme "The Position and Role of the Laity in the Church." He pointed out that positive and progressive solutions to that question advance the democratization of the Church, and emphasized that the Second Vatican Council devoted great attention to the role of the laity. Dr Rupcic stated that ancient learning sought to illuminate the cooperation of mission, dignity and responsibility of all in the Church. These virtues come to light through living brotherhood, partnership, and common obedience. But these essential guidelines for God's people, for the Church, encounter difficult obstacles in the ruling mentality in the Church.

Father Zvonimir Bono Sagi treated the theme "Urbanization and the Church in Croatia." He stressed that urbanization requires the formulation of a new and specific pastoral approach, which must overcome obstacles such as are reflected in the mentality of pastoral introversion, authoritarianism, paternalism, and bonds to inherited models of religiosity. There is also an unconscious yearning by the clergy to retain the village style of religiosity, to preserve traditional roles, and to retain the enlightening concept of the pastorate.

Dr Marijan Valkovic spoke on "The Visions of Social Order from a Christian Perspective."

An Instrument of Communication

These few notes from the lecturers that have been given so far in the "Theological Thursday" series would seem clearly to show that some of our theologians are trying to answer the questions posed by modern life in the Yugoslav environment, and we believe that this opens prospects for a possible elaboration of the theology that has emerged from our "here" and "now."

What the initiators themselves think of this theological tribune. We discussed that with its leader, theologian Stipe Bagaric.

[Question] What encouraged the "Christian Present" theological society to begin a forum such as this?

[Answer] It could be said that this forum is the result of the spiritual and cultural needs of this environment, and certainly, of the people gathered in the "Christian Present" group. There is a whole series of current themes that are not being treated anywhere, and there is no place for thinking people of varying directions and specialties to meet. Therefore, we decided to agree to a firm meeting point, so that when someone wanted to communicate something to others, he would know where that could be done and when he would probably find someone. Thus the tribune is first of all an instrument of communication within the Theological Society, but as is readily understood, it immediately took on an outward direction as well. Hence we strove to have the participants in these discussions be from the most diverse areas, because we wanted at first to have people hear us and for us to hear them. Naturally, it was our desire that they appear as lecturers within a short time on our tribune.

Other than the attempt to use the tribune to enliven the rather dead communications among ourselves, and toward other segments of society, we wanted through our discussions to create that which cannot be created through our public Catholic

press, where at the moment there is not even space for open debate, or even for common criticism, humor and satire. That is probably the case because the press goes to a wide circle of readers, and that audience, it seems to me, is not yet matured for plurality and diversity. Thus we determined that it was time to find a way to direct a critical word at each other, and at least in a small circle, to practice debate, critiquing and listening to other opinions.

[Question] You said that you intend to broaden the circle of lecturers?

[Answer] It is our desire to establish the closest possible communication with other persuasions as well, because we believe that through that interchange we will only gain, or at least become firmer in some perceptions. Therefore, we thought that at first we would select lecturers from our own numbers, until we become somewhat practiced, and then we would try to get lecturers of a different profile, meaning both lecturers of other Christian groups than the one that created the "Christian Present" theological society, and also from Marxist circles, for even though we all know something about Marxism, it seems that we are not quite accustomed to hearing from people who are really Marxists. Whether we will succeed in this does not depend only on us, but also on the good will of those people to cooperate with us.

The Development of Domestic Theological Thought

[Question] I noticed that at the "Theological Thursday" lecture there were people from the Orthodox Church and from some protestant churches. Does that mean that in expanding the dialogue, the tribune is seeking an ecumenical rapprochement?

[Answer] The tribune was conceived as a sort of seed or yeast, if I can use some parables from the Gospels. From what I have said, it is obvious that we wanted to gather the broadest possible circle of those who sympathized with theological contemplation, so that it is normal that we had in mind people from the Orthodox Church and protestant denominations.

Our desire, and the focus of our chief activity, was to implement the Second Vatican Council, so that a dialogue approach to any social group whatever was our task. Of course, that was not in order to become a single entity at the end, but so that we, under the influence of others, could become different, and so that those other persuasions could receive what was good and positive from us, or so that we could become accustomed in recognizing values in others. That in any case is the true reason for seeking lecturers from other Christian churches, and from the realm of Marxist knowledge and Marxist practice.

[Question] How do you see the role of the tribune regarding the development of domestic theological thought?

[Answer] We gave our tribune the name "Theological Thursday" not because we wanted to stress that we would always talk only of theology, but primarily because the tribune was initiated by a group of theologians, and because we would want that every time someone speaks at the forum who is not a theologian, and whose topic is not directly theological, it would have an impact on the theological contemplations of those participants of the tribune from the theological circle. In that

way this tribune, along with the other work of the "Christian Present," should contribute to the development of domestic theological thought. It seems that this is possible only when a whole series of preparations are made, both in the area of publications and in the sense of changed mentality of both theologians and other groups in our society. Only then can it perhaps be possible for a specific theological thought to appear in this country, which then could in some way correspond to the things that are happening here. Finally, that is the inspiration of the Council and the people who are working here: to have people live here in the modern world and to have Christian inspiration that exists among us, along with other vital inspirations, continue to last in this land.

12131

CSO: 2800/252

NEW FILM, PROBLEMS OF MACEDONIAN FILM INDUSTRY VIEWED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 May 81 p 8

[Interview with Stole Popov by L. Mazova: "Man in the Wheel of History"]

[Text] The ideology of Boris Tushev, the main character in the film, is neither rational nor political but emotional, according to Stole Popov, the director. "The Red Horse" is a film on the destiny of the common man.

This evening, the Skopje public will have the opportunity to see the first showing of a Vardar Film Production--"The Red Horse," at the Vardar I Theater in Skopje, at 8:30 pm. The film is based on a scenario by Tasko Georgievski, directed by Stole Popov. The cameraman is Branko Mikhajlovski; staging Vlastimir Gavrik, music by Ljupco Konstantinov, costumes by Zorica Todorovsko-Mladenovik, sound by Jordan Janevski, and special effects by Dimitar Grbevski. The roles are played by Bata Zivoinovik, Ilija Dzuvalkovski, Danco Cevrovski, Radmila Zivkovik, Kole Angelovski, Meto Jovanovski, Stole Arangelovik, Liljana Georgieva, Dusan Janicievik, Risto Siskov, Aco Jovanovski, Silvija Jovanovska (first motion picture appearance) and others. This evening, following the showing of "The Red Horse," the authors and some of the actors will be presented to the public.

On the occasion of the first showing of "The Red Horse," to our public (the film was shown at this year's festival), we spoke with director Stole Popov who co-operated also in writing the scenario.

[Question] After a few exceptional documentaries you have now come out with a full length feature film. Is this a challenge?

[Answer] Ever since I began to make motion pictures, from the days of the academy to the present, I have been unable to make a genre distinction between the meaning of a documentary, as I understand it, and of a feature film. Essentially, they are very similar and are both based on life. All that separates them is the form: whether it is a documentary or the performance of an actor. To the extent to which the feature film tries to project a maximum illusion of voracity it comes close to the documentary. That is precisely why what matters to me the most is what I have felt within myself, regardless of the genre. Personally, I consider "The Red Horse" the logical extension of my concerns as interpreted in documentaries, "Australia, Australia," above all.

[Question] In "The Red Horse" Tasko Georgievski plays a complex role in which people, destinies, and countries become intertwined. What was your starting point in undertaking the filming of such a serious work of literature? What was it that attracted you to the novel?

[Answer] The main reason for which I undertook to film "The Red Horse" is the modern aspect of the problem it deals with: the problem of a political exodus, which is particularly characteristic of the 20th century. Some United Nations statistical surveys show that more than 10 million people in the world are forced to live away from their homelands. Macedonia was not spared this modern drama of human life. The film, like the novel, describes the fate of Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia, who, after the defeat of the Greek Democratic Army, in 1949, were forced to leave their homes. The defeat of the Greek Democratic Army, the nostalgia, the impotence, the pride and the illusions, everything which was brought by history, shaped the destinies of the people described in "The Red Horse." The ideology of Boris Tusev, the main character in the movie, is neither rational nor political. It comes from within him. He is secretly guided by his soul. He returns to his native village only to find the existence of an even greater alienation, even stronger feeling for freedom and for spiritual and national life. Briefly stated, "The Red Horse" is a picture on the fate of the common man caught in the wheel of history.

[Question] You had to work with many people and depict about a dozen personalities. If you had to redo this film would you change it?

[Answer] I have never been satisfied with any film I have made and have never believed that a perfect film could be made. It is precisely this feeling that is the driving force which inspires me to believe that my next film will be better.

[Question] You gained further practical experience after showing "The Red Horse" at the Festival 81. What was its nature?

[Answer] Probably like any other author, I feel excited before any one of my films is presented. Such was the case in Belgrade, in the first public showing of "The Red Horse." Although I was apprehensive, among others because of the unusual length of the film--two and one-half hours--I noted with great pleasure that the public welcomed it, watched it with interest and identified itself largely with its characters.

[Question] In recent months Macedonian cinematography and its problems have been frequent topics of public discussions. This is not a good environment in which to work....

[Answer] Considering the period in which the film was made and the time which exceeded two and one-half years, we see today that it was filmed within a minimum amount of time which, in this context, may seem paradoxical. Major obstacles had to be overcome. For this reason, considering the condition of Macedonian cinematography and the existence of material and subjective reasons, we could not hope for work continuity. Today, however, this is a thing of the past. Conversely, as a result of these circumstances, and even though Vardar Film has a truly strong

capacity, a director must wait 3, 4 or even 5 years between projects. To an author this means that his output will be limited to five or six films.

[Question] This means that the situation in which Macedonian filmmaking finds itself the choice of a scenario becomes virtually impossible. It will either become obsolete or something like it. Is the theme of "The Red Horse" truly important, or else do you operate on the basis of "Let us do what we can?"

[Answer] I have already said that I have been concerned with this topic for quite some time, since the filming of "Australia, Australia." Both films deal with similar problems and fates, and inner human problems....

[Question] Given normal organizational and financial conditions, what would you do?

[Answer] I would rework "The Red Horse," and see to it that it is completed in 1, rather than 2 or 3 years. However, familiar as I am with our cinematographic reality, my next motion picture (who knows when!) will most certainly be based on most simplified organizational and financial premises: it will be a motion picture on a modern topic filmed in a studio.

5003

CSO: 2800/253

MACEDONIAN FILM INDUSTRY CRITICIZED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 81 p 8

[Article by Olja Arbuljevska]

[Text] A useful discussion took place at the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Macedonian Communist Party on current trends in the republic's film industry. The film industry has been acting as if nothing had changed.

Skopje, May. Recently a joint session of the Commission for ideological trends and theoretical activities of the Central Committee Presidium of the Macedonian Communist Party, and the Section of the SAWP republic conference for socio-economic and self-management relationships in cultural endeavors, was devoted to current trends in cinematography in the republic. The meeting took place in Skopje.

The purpose of the discussion was to consider more completely the problems of the film industry, an artistic branch that has encountered numerous difficulties and, on the other hand, to support the industry's continued self-management transformation. Among other things, it was emphasized that cinematography in Macedonia still suffers from numerous relapses and from improvisation and disrupted relations. Thus it was suggested that radical changes be made in the climate that has developed and that the film industry be integrated more rapidly into the self-management currents in Yugoslav society.

A Single Film House?

By its method of operation, financing, and relationships, the film industry behaves as if nothing had changed in the society. Director Darko Markovic considers that in this area there are antiquated methods still present, and that all of that has been accompanied by bad interpersonal relations. For that reason it was impossible to establish new self-management, profitable relationships, but rather everything remained in uncertain financing and irrational use of resources.

Within that framework, the possibility of nonchalant behavior, passivity, and unmotivated work was created. The film creators live from today to tomorrow. They are burdened by non-artistic motives to make films of "epoch significance," they live in neglect and from neglect, from relativism. It is as if there were no mutual ethical and esthetic values. Positions are selected that lead to commotion and provide unconcern. All of that is more or less accidental, and it is the same way concerning money for films: they shoot film by chance, and it is good only by chance.

It is necessary to make plans for production continuity and to make the overall film production program go forward not by chance, through an established program and personal policy.

Markovic proposed that Vardarfilm should become the only film labor organization, around which production would concentrate, and in this efforts should be made for the self-management reconstruction of the industry, as well as the formation of basic organizations of associated labor for the distinct subdivisions of short subjects and cartoons, technical support, and joint services. Directors would have the status of independent artists.

Many Open Questions

In the debate, Dr Milan Djurcinov expressed the opinion that the film industry as now established, with the present relationships, cannot survive. He asked how it was possible for an unsuccessful film, upon which a considerable sum of money had been spent, was no one's responsibility. More effective work by the communists is needed in that area, along with more emphasis on individual and social responsibility.

There was also discussion of the place of the working man in film production, of the cooperation between Vardarfilm and other organizations and filming houses on the basis of mutual interests, and of agreements with television producers.

Director Stole Popov said that Vardarfilm must be transformed and that the relationships within it must be changed, so that the directors would no longer seek the failure of others, but rather would fight for the opposite, for their own success!

Finally, they cautioned that film workers have already brought about the self-management transformation of the film industry, but that has most often been sought when the till is empty and there have been great losses that no one either wants to or is able to cover.

On the other hand, this discussion strove to consider the current troubles of the Macedonian film industry comprehensively. It did not repeat facts that were already known, but rather it tried openly, critically and constructively to seek more promising solutions that would be in accord with the self-management trends in the republic and in the community as a whole.

12131

CSO: 2800/254

DATA ON SERBIAN LC MEMBERSHIP

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 81 p 15

[Text] The membership of the Serbian LC has been growing steadily. At the end of last year the 24,275 basic organizations had a membership of 880,412, which is about 59,000 more than in December of the year before last. Does this increase in the number of members also indicate that the organizations are more mobile and better prepared for action?

The answer is difficult to state in one sentence. The events in Kosovo, as well as many other problems in socioeconomic development and the development of self-management, indicate, however, that in analyzing enrollment and the social and class composition of the membership one should go considerably farther than what is indicated by a few basic indicators. After all, large-scale enrollment is no barrier at all to ideological and political passivity and superficiality in everyday work. It is extremely important to the LC to take care not only about strengthening the social and class composition and about the interests of young people, but also to see that the new members come into an organization which is always oriented toward the most urgent problems and tasks. On that basis the enrollment of new members--as stated in this week's meeting of the Development Commission of the Serbian LC Central Committee--will not be a "registration," but an election.

The inadequate enrollment of workers and farmers, though certain changes are being achieved, is still disturbing. It was mentioned in the meeting of the Development Commission that a skeptical view should be taken of the outdated statistical division into direct and "indirect" producers, but this does not diminish the importance of the datum that workers represent only 31.4 percent of LC membership. There has also been a drop in the share of farmers (from 6.2 in 1979 to 5.9 percent in 1980), and the relationship between the number of members of the LC employed in the socialized sector of the economy, 26.4 percent, and in noneconomic activities, 43.3 percent, deserves a specific analysis.

It was also noted that during last year 40 percent of the basic organizations in the economy did not enroll a single new member. Enrollment has not taken place for 2 years in 17 percent of the organizations, and in 8 percent of them there has been no enrollment for 3 years. The situation is even somewhat worse in noneconomic activities.

The LC's attitude toward enrollment of new members is also indicated by the figures on the number of members expelled and removed from the rolls. Of the total number of members leaving the League of Communists last year 1,632 (26.9 percent) were expelled, and 3,697 (61 percent) were removed from the rolls. This shows, it was stated in the meeting of the Development Commission, that basic organizations in many places often are not doing enough to make the ideological struggle, or even differences in conceptions of the way action should be carried out, the basis for differentiation in the League of Communists. "Differentiation" ends by simply removing from the rolls the names of those who do not come to meetings. Usually it is a case of newly enrolled members. However, if everything related to enrollment comes down to one meeting, then later the problem of differentiation is considerably oversimplified.

The critical accents which could be heard in the debate in the meeting of the commission were not aimed at detracting from the importance of what has been constructive in enrollment policy. And that is above all the further growth of young people's interest in becoming members of the League of Communists. Today one out of every three members of the Serbian LC is age 27 or under. In 1980 Comrade Tito's illness and death gave young people particular motivation to confirm their full loyalty to the ideals for which he fought by enrolling in the LC. Their determination to continue on Tito's road represents a great strength for the organization of the League of Communists. It cannot be expressed in any figures or percentages.

7045

CSO: 2800/262

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

July 2, 1981